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Korea—Why Are We Fighting?

New Republic

Stevenson and Eisenhower

What Kind of Campaign?—Editorial

The Jackson-Cain Senatorial Battle

by Richard Neuberger

China Turns Toward Slave Labor

by Thomas Brooks

Reviews and Articles by

ROBERT EVETT
JOHN FARRELLY
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AUG 1952

Johnson City, Tenn.

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Letters

Pressures on Peoria

● After reading the article *The Legion and the Library* (NR, July 14), I am prompted to write you concerning certain inaccuracies and omissions in Mr. Beth's story. . . .

Mr. Beth describes the situation with regard to the film controversy in which the Library Board became involved in the fall of 1950. . . . I understand that the original conflict was over circulation of three films: "Boundary Lines," "Brotherhood of Man," and "Peoples of the USSR," with the American Legion opposing them and certain ministers defending them. It appears to me that eventually the board found itself urged from one side to "label" the films as propaganda or withdraw them from circulation, and from the other to continue their unlimited, unlabeled circulation. . . .

In the face of this situation, the Library Board on September 14, 1950, confirmed action taken by the librarian during July and August (when the board does not meet) restricting the films which were the center of the controversy to "group showings only in the Audio-Visual Auditorium with library personnel on hand and handling projection." On September 22 the librarian, possibly on receipt of more information, I do not know, placed a further restriction on "Brotherhood of Man" by ordering that it be shown only to bona fide propaganda study groups. In a specially called session of September 27 the board, after hearing the librarian's explanation of his latest action and discussing the matter at length, voted its approval. . . .

As Mr. Beth says, the conflict flared again in 1951 when the Legion attacked the film "Of Human Rights." At this time, however, a number of citizens, siding neither with the Legion nor with the ministerial group, interpreted the distribution of the film by the public library as sponsorship by the library of the film's sentiments on American ratification of a universal bill or rights. Since this question was currently becoming highly controversial, these people believed the library was acting as an agency of persuasion for one viewpoint. Hence in this second conflict Peorians aired three opinions. Evidently Mr. Beth does not know of this development in the controversy. . . . He seems not to know that, however the situation may look to him as a non-participant, the second conflict rapidly became highly fraught with emotionalism on both sides. . . .

As the author of the motion which set up the plan the library is now using, I am more than a little interested in Mr. Beth's comments on it. He has made several errors. First, the motion does *not* provide that "every new movie which the library purchases which in the opinion of the librarian is 'controversial,' is to be previewed before a group of leading citizens representing civic organization." Nowhere in the motion is the word "controversial" used. The motion . . . provides that previews be held for all films on national, international, political, economic, social and religious subjects. In the second place, the previewers are *not* specified as "leading citizens." Since the library sent out invitations for the one and only preview yet necessary to between five and six hundred civic organizations, the previewers sent by those groups which chose to participate constituted a good cross-section of American citizens.

It was thought that this method gave all interested groups opportunity to publicize their opinions and that film users might accept or reject these or formulate new views of their own. . . . The practice of attaching the comments [of participating groups] to the film-can, intended as a convenience for users who might wish to read them, created considerable difficulty of a mechanical or physical nature. . . . Consequently at a recent meeting the board approved the use of folders for the comment sheets. These folders are now *offered* to film users when the film is checked out. Borrowers may or may not accept the collection of comments, as they please. The films which were once restricted are now in unrestricted circulation. The librarian purchases whatever films he sees fit, for previews and opportunity for comment comes only *after* purchase.

Mr. Ray Howser, in charge of the Audio-visual Department of the Peoria Public Library, told me yesterday that the change to the folder system has obviated his objection on the labeling issue, that the plan is presenting no difficulties, that some groups comment and some don't, that some borrowers accept folders and some don't, that he considers the plan as it now operates "a democratic solution to a difficult problem." He also told me that although some individuals voiced disagreement with some of the written comments, no one, either individual or group, has suggested that any group's comments be withdrawn. One of the ministers who was among those originally concerned over film restriction has written the board that he feels the solution has been "an intelligent and courageous one." A spokesman for the Americanism Committee of the American Legion called the plan both workable and fair.

It is my considered judgment that the Library Board, both before and since my membership on it, has made every effort to maintain a free public institution where all sides of all questions are welcome information for patrons. I have been impressed with their willingness to listen to other board members with whom they did not agree. I am sure that the distorted picture given in Mr. Beth's article is a result of misinformation or lack of information and not of intentional misrepresentation.

Peoria, Ill. HAZEL C. WOLF

● After reading Miss Wolf's letter carefully, it seems obvious to me that she has found only two "inaccuracies," neither of which, I believe, make any substantial difference in the opinions given in my article. (1) All three of the first movies were withdrawn from "general circula-

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Language of the Flowers

Two of [Judge Pine's] other prides are the fig tree and the rosebush which grow on his small lawn. The fig tree stems from an ancient tree in Southern Maryland, and the roses, of a rare type, derive from a bush once owned by George Washington. Friends swear that the Washington roses gave a dignified nod of approval when Pine's decision [in the steel-seizure case] was announced.—*From the* Saturday Evening Post.

Nonsequitur

This week's conferences are expected by the General's staff to perfect plans for winning independent voters and dissident Democrats without losing the party organization vote, especially that of the Taftites, and at the same time holding the party vote without discouraging the independents.—*From the Boston* Herald.

Child Bride?

There was mordant humor in this cruelly protracted (Democratic) convention as there always is. It became a firm, if unwritten, myth of the press section that at the appropriate time Mrs. Barkley was going to faint and be carried off to a leading pediatrician as final proof of her septugenarian husband's bounding vitality.—*From T. R. B. in the* New Republic.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

IT LOOKS LIKE more inflation. Food prices are at an all-time peak and almost certainly general cost-of-living will follow. Congress, led by the GOP, lifted price controls on all fruits and vegetables in extending the Defense Production Act in June: it's fruits and vegetables which are now leading the big new price rise.

Congress also wiped out the Federal Reserve Board's power to rule installment credit. Trying to head off the step the Reserve Board temporarily dropped credit controls on its own account, but Congress moved in all the same and abolished the power. The result? Installment credit jumped $447 million in May, another $593 million in June, and it's now at an all-time high: a big inflationary lever.

As everybody knows the government had to pay the steel industry a $5.20 a ton price increase to get it to settle the strike. Economic Stabilizer Roger Putnam and Price Stabilizer Ellis Arnall call this blackmail. It means a new round of price increases all down the line. Summing it up, inflation looms ahead and Congress has bored holes in the bottom of the boat in which we must shoot the rapids.

The most popular slogan in the late Congress was "economy." In this sacred cause Congress cut $2 billion from the overseas aid program and congratulated itself on its savings. The result? France, Britain and other allies are now paring down defense expenditure, the Lisbon timetable is set back, America's own costly slow-down is being copied everywhere. Congress, incidentally, saved money by paring its contribution to aid refugee, homeless and orphaned children in the UN Children's Emergency Fund. This is economy at the expense of the church poor box. We would hate to be a Congressman and have the face of one of these gaunt little waifs appear in our dreams! Still—it saves us money.

Can Adlai beat Ike next November? Right now we'd say, "Yes." Conditions may change, however; it may be a close fight. Let's consider the arguments. Ike has a couple of strong talking points. The country really wants a change and feels the Democrats have grown soft and fat from 20 years' office-holding. There is also the scare argument: if Ike doesn't make it now then the fascist element in the GOP may take over in 1956. This frightens the daylights out of Walter Lippmann. The argument runs that a man like Taft, say, wouldn't have embraced McCarthyism in 1948; it's only as he grows increasingly desperate that he adopts McCarthyism.

Now turn to Stevenson. Dr. Gallup has just estimated that Democrats outnumber Republicans 11 to nine with the balance of power held by independents. Prosperity aids the Democrats, too; this is a poor argument but possibly decisive. Again, minority ethnic groups generally support Democrats, as does organized labor. Stevenson starts off, then, with considerable advantages on form. It is true he faces a Southern revolt. Texas, Virginia and certain other states may go for Eisenhower. We think this might be a good thing if it gave the South a real two-party contest. But it will hardly lose the election: Truman faced both the Dixiecrats and the Progressives in 1948, and won anyway.

The real Ike-Adlai test may not come on the foregoing matters. We rather think it will rest on voter judgment of the two men. And here we think Adlai may still have the advantage. Ike has made a series of dreadful *gaffes* since he returned though they haven't received much attention—indeed we never recall seeing a candidate better protected by the press: Take that admission by Ike that he hadn't known the Supreme Court

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ruled in favor of federal control of offshore oil. It received little play. We like Ike and hope he gets himself organized; nobody can protect him now that he has a real opponent.

Summing it up we think America generally prefers a liberal to a conservative if it has a real choice and understands the issues. It is our most profound political belief that Americans will never tire of reform, progress and social betterment. For the moment the issue is less clear than we think it will become. The press is hugging itself momentarily over the fact that the parties have chosen two "moderates." But are they actually so alike? Ike's supporters at Denver do not sound particularly moderate; they are upholders of the status quo. Poor Ike has even had to accept Sen. Everett Dirksen (Ill.) in his strategy board, to placate Taft. Columnist Doris Fleeson offers it as a calm judgment that Ike is a "Kansas Republican conservative" whose position "may well put him to the right of Taft." Is that the approach that will sweep the country? We doubt it.

The press complacently pats Stevenson on the head as another "middle-roader" but here again we fancy they are victims of wishful thinking. FDR was regarded as a "moderate" until elected, and Harry Truman was hailed with heartfelt relief by the very newspapers who now scream against him. The people around Stevenson don't look so middle-roadish to us. Stevenson has just picked ex-Housing Administrator, 46-year-old Wilson Wyatt, to help run his campaign, a man for whom we have particular fondness. He was a founder and chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. Pegler and Sokolsky don't think ADA "moderate!" Wyatt's housing plans were so bold and imaginative in 1946 that they were opposed by the White House palace guard. Now Clark Clifford is gone, and George Allen is gone and Truman himself is going, but Wyatt is coming back. He looks to us more like a Roosevelt "braintruster" than the amiable, non-cerebrating type of palace crony with which we have become familiar.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

tion" but only "Brotherhood of Man" was restricted to "bona fide students of propaganda." The other two were to be shown only in the Library theatre under staff supervision. . . . I regret this hasty error of mine. But I repeat that it makes no difference to the substance of the article. (2) To the extent that I implied that the librarian has discretion over whether or not films shall be previewed, I was wrong. All films dealing with national, international, political, economic, social and religious subjects are to be previewed without discretion on the part of the librarian. On the use of the word "controversial," see below.

In addition to these two inaccuracies, Miss Wolf has pointed out a rather important omission. The reviewers' comments are no longer attached to the film-can but are made up into a separate folder which the borrower can take or not as he sees fit. This change was made after my article had been written, but I admit that I should have checked to see whether any such changes had been made before I sent it in for publication. Incidentally this later development provides striking confirmation of one of my comments. I pointed out that the administrative burden on the library staff might prove quite a handicap, and this has apparently been the main reason for the change. . . .

Other than these, Miss Wolf has, I think, gone somewhat astray, probably because I did not express myself in clear and unmistakable language. I am perfectly aware that any solution would probably not be satisfactory to both sides; my whole position in that there are some types of questions in which no attempt should be made to satisfy both sides. . . . To me, freedom of information, in whatever communications medium, is such a fundamental principle.

Miss Wolf comments that some citizens thought the library was sponsoring the views contained in "Of Human Rights." This, I suppose, is the cross that any agency of communication must bear. . . . I am sure any newspaper editor often is criticized for what Pegler and Pearson say. . . .

As to emotionalism, I am well aware of how emotional an issue this controversy became. . . . But the very emotionalism of the situation, I believe, was one of the things that tended to intimidate . . . the Library Board into adopting the solutions that it did. . . .

While the final solution reached by the board does not use the word "controversial," I know of no other way to describe the designation "national, international, political, economic, social, and religious." This is a pretty complete catalogue of the things which are controversial in America today. Incidentally, two things which tend to confirm my attitudes have come to my attention. First,. since the original preview of the four films discussed in my article, six months ago, *no further previews have been held.* This seems to indicate that the library is reluctant to stick its neck out by buying anything controversial in the future. Second, the budget for films for the coming year has been cut, and the cut allotted to records instead. This means, at least partly, that the board itself does not wish to stir up any further controversy. . . .

"Leading citizens" was merely a way of designating the organization representatives sent to the previews. I do not wish to argue the question as to what a leading citizen is! There is a good deal of doubt, however, as to just how cross-sectional these citizens were. For instance, so far as I know, not a single political scientist, sociologist, or psychologist was asked to participate; yet these are the very people who are specialists in the study of propaganda and might be expected to render valid judgments, if anyone can. My major point in this regard, however, was not to question the representative nature of the *first* preview, but of previews held ,say, four or five years from now, when most of the organizations may have lost interest in the whole thing—and only the Legion is left to comment on the films. . . .

The opinion seems to have got abroad that my article was an attack on the Peoria Library Board and the Librarian. I wish to make it clear that there was no such intention. I do not blame the board for the solution reached—I blame the Legion for making it necessary. . . .

I am happy to hear that the Library Board regards the present system of written comments by representatives of local organizations as a temporary solution, to be replaced as soon as possible with a general policy statement on the procurement of library materials, which it is hoped will act as a protection for both board and Librarian. . . .

Peoria, Ill. LOREN P. BETH

The 1952 Campaign

● . . . This country is at the peak of prosperity brought about by the New and Fair Deal. So why the beefing and clammering by certain groups for a change? Republican administrations more often have let the people down so that special interests could prosper, and this reactionary party would be a poor risk in power now that everybody enjoys the highest standard of living in all the world's history.

Lilitz, Pa. JEROME GREINER

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New Republic

REFLECTIONS ON THE EISENHOWER-STEVENSON CAMPAIGN

IN THESE DOG DAYS of August, the Republican and Democratic campaigns are taking shape. Both candidates are under pressure to attack each other. Both face the same challenge to formulate in positive terms better policies than those of the last four years.

For Eisenhower that assignment is hard. His success in war lay in the subordination of his own personality. Now his personality must govern. His profession trained him to choose between the ideas of others. Now he must initiate new ideas. He starts from the unpreparedness that led him, when he was questioned about a major tax loophole provided oil producers, to answer, "You've got me there; I'll have to get some oil men to tell me about that."

If Eisenhower fails, his party will lapse into a divisive campaign. Already his running mate Richard Nixon has made it plain that he will work the shadowy side of the Republican street. And Eisenhower has indicated that he will run, not for his own program, or in opposition to Stevenson, but against the receding image of Harry Truman. Eisenhower insists that Stevenson is "running on a one plank platform; defense of the entire Administration record." This assertion, which will come as news to Stevenson, is followed naturally by the slogan: *It's time for a change!*

What substance is there in this jingle? Walter Lippmann and others strive to dignify it, arguing that a new party is better than a new President because the change is more complete. But this is an appeal to unreason when the direction of change has not even been indicated. No one proposes that the Board of Directors of the US Steel Company should be regularly wiped out and replaced by unknown men; that all officers above the rank of colonel should be periodically relieved as a matter of principle; that universities should dismiss their faculties at given intervals for the good of education, or even that columnists should be retired after eight-year terms. Government is also a serious and skilled profession manned by trained and competent men. The changes that are needed are selective, not indiscriminate.

No one will defend one party rule. No one will argue that an opposition should become a government just to help it along. No one will propose that major agencies and departments and bureaus be abolished and remade in order to fire thousands of government officials and replace them with hungry and unqualified Republicans. The change that is needed is at the policy making level and the strategic points where corporations have greased a way to corrupt decisions. The party affiliations of replacements to these positions is far less important than their basic integrity.

The argument in truth is as much Stevenson's as Eisenhower's. Twenty years of opposition has left as much ignorance as ability among Republican administrators. Twelve years of war or exile has left, among liberal Democrats, first class reserves of fresh energy on which Stevenson can call.

From these false starts Eisenhower's campaign can still be rescued by advisers as sound and experienced as Paul Hoffman who have reflected on a new approach to world peace. But, regrettably, Eisenhower appears increasingly as the prisoner of the Old Guard which he set back but could not defeat.

II

The Republican strategy is to compel Stevenson to stand in defense of Truman's record. Stevenson's ambition is that the Democrats, "win or lose" will approach the 1952 campaign as "a great opportunity to educate and elevate a people whose destiny is leadership . . . of a world in ferment."

Can Stevenson maintain this standard, even if Eisenhower fails? His one chance, we believe, lies, not in justifying or criticizing Truman, nor in resting on his wide knowledge of state administration, but in striking out with his own approach to national policy, in terms that are sound, affirmative, original and bold.

A campaign based on such a program would be militant, as Truman's was militant in 1948. But it would not follow the Roosevelt-Truman pattern of arousing or perpetuating conflict for its political effect. It would look beyond the campaign to the Presidency, as Truman could not in 1948. In doing this, it would attract the support of first rate men whose presence in Washington would assure a change; and, further, it would attract the independent voters who sense that there is need today of deeper unity than divisive campaigns, and hard-pressed administrations will permit.

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III

Stevenson has picked Springfield as the symbol of this new approach, and Wilson Wyatt as its executor. Now all that is lacking is the approach itself. It can be built, we believe, around the central concept of an expanding economy.

The Republican Party turns blindly from this concept. It constructs its domestic and international program around the gloomy prospect of a static economy beset by crushing burdens of welfare, armaments and overseas aid. It finds hope only in lightening these burdens; that is in cutting back all that this nation is trying to bring about. This approach is sterile—and unsound. It leads to deepening divisions between the US and our allies. It leads to deepening divisions within the US as farmers, workers, businessmen, veterans, the aged and the unorganized scramble for a larger share of a national income that has ceased to grow.

In contrast, Stevenson's best approach is to base his whole program on the enormously productive expansion of our economy which today adds $20 billion to our national income each year. This is the unifying theme of the national interest around which all groups can gather, in contrast with the fragmentizing pessimism which, lacking confidence in general development, singles out each group with an appeal to its primary interest.

It leads naturally to a new evaluation of a flexible relationship between government and private enterprise. It leads to a much closer and more constructive analysis of government actions to maintain individual and corporate incentives to increase production than was available in Roosevelt's time. It leads properly to an attack on restrictionism in all its forms as a barrier to our economic expansion; the restrictionism imposed by high tariffs; the restrictionism enforced by craft unions and the restrictionism fostered by monopoly which lives by creating shortages of steel and housing and credit and so obstructs our main hope.

This theme leads lastly to an intelligent and helpful treatment of the Republican epithet: *Socialism.* For it follows that the distinguishing difference between our system and the socialist societies of Europe is that among them, socialism arose as an inevitable reaction to restrictive economies in which monopoly and nationalism choked off the possibilities of expansion compelling low income groups to seek higher standards principally through a more equal distribution of limited national incomes. It is the restrictionist concept of the Republicans which brings socialism about; the expansionist approach which makes it irrelevant.

IV

In world policy, the same contrast waits to be made clear. The concept of a static economy leads inevitably to an America First program and to Taft's refusal to share our limited treasure with far off peoples we do not understand. Already the first steps in this March backwards are plain in Eisenhower's scaling down of his pleas for European aid.

The alternative is to construct a permanent foreign policy on the promotion of growth overseas. Our income has expanded by three percent each year over decades, the rest of the free world's by one percent. Thus the contrasts between our prosperity and the misery of allies and neutrals is growing every day. This contrast provides a great source of strength for Communism and is one obvious cause of war. It is countered by economic growth which provides all peoples with the strength to endure and the spirit to survive. Our purpose, called rehabilitation, reconstruction, mutual security, Point Four in succeeding phases, becomes continuous and articulate: To help others achieve the rate of growth that peace requires.

Government is not the only means of promoting growth overseas. It has become predominant in the crises and emergencies that followed the war in which private investment overseas collapsed. In the permanent policy we should now be reaching, the actions of private investors, and also of religious, labor and farm organizations should be increasingly encouraged by government. Yet government's own role cannot be reduced. It takes the primary form of economic aid. And to argue, as conservatives will, that economic aid should be scorned as a form of bribery, is shallow and selfish in years when three in four adults in the free world are illiterate, and one-half of its babies die before their first birthday. The price of literacy is paper for books, and cement for schools; the price of health is steel for hospitals, clinics and medical schools, all luxuries that impoverished nations can win only through US aid.

The new approach that is needed will not decry aid but direct it. It will extend aid to central financial institutions in Europe, to help bring about the lasting solution of European union. It will relate aid in Asia to country programs that integrate foreign aid, technical assistance and domestic outlays into the comprehensive plans of national development that are lacking in the Point Four program today.

These ideas of course are offered as a beginning. Far better programs can evolve from reasoned debates. If Stevenson and Eisenhower are true to themselves, the 1952 campaign can be as memorable and constructive as the debates of Roosevelt, Wilson and Taft in 1912.

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THE WEEK

POORER BY DROUGHT

As if the latest peak in the Consumer's Price Index and the anticipated inflationary pressure of the steel price increase were not enough to haunt the American housewife, a crop-destroying drought is now gripping the agricultural areas that supply most of the big cities of the East. Potatoes and corn in Maine, truck farm vegetables and hay in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and cotton crops in North Carolina have already been destroyed in large quantities. The biggest danger, however, is what will happen to the large cattle herds scattered throughout the South. The wilting of corn and pasture grasses may force farmers to slaughter most of their herds, causing violent meat and milk shortages next year.

The current drought, centered as it is in the Upper South and New England, may come as something of a surprise to the public which is accustomed to associate rain shortages mainly with the semi-arid regions of the Mid-West. Historically, however, all sections of the country are subject to recurrent droughts. In face of the present drought's scope, officials are nearly helpless. Rain-making can only be employed to alleviate local water shortages. Supplies of hay to save the cattle will have to be located all over the country. The Department of Agriculture can lend $30 million in three percent disaster relief loans, but this is of little avail to the consumer and not much more help to most farmers.

The one measure that would help all would be for the federal government to buy up hay in the Mid-West and ship it to the disaster areas. President Truman has emergency funds available for such a purpose. In some areas, however, political resistance to the idea of federal aid is holding up relief. Fred Nutter, Maine Commissioner of Agriculture, typified this attitude when he declared: "They wanted us to ask for aid, but we didn't want it." Maine has since changed its mind, but other governors are still holding out as of this writing. Since the President cannot extend aid unless it is requested by the local authorities, he may have to wait until the crop losses, already estimated at close to $1 billion, mount up still higher.

MARTIN DIES RETURNS

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R, Wis.) must find aid and comfort in the election of his counterpart in the House, Rep. Martin Dies (D, Tex.). Creator of the original Un-American Activities Committee, Dies served a previous stint in the House—from 1931 to 1945, when he made an unsuccessful attempt to be promoted to the Senate. When the census figures gave Texas a new Congressional seat, the State legislature elected to have a Congressman-at-large rather than redistrict the present seats. Dies was one of the few candidates who had a state-wide reputation as a pioneer spy-hunter. Dies pulled 49 percent of the vote in a seven-man race.

McCarthy may find an element of competition with Dies as the prime investigator. Dies' first statement after victory charged that the "whole story of Communism . . . has never be told." Dies expects to be placed back on the Un-American Activities Committee (a decision which is up to the House Committee on Committees) and he has announced that it will be up to the committee to bring out the "relationship of Communism in the United States with Communism elsewhere."

Last week, Senator McCarthy received the unqualified support of Gerald L. K. Smith, the anti-Semitic "rabble-rouser" who heads the Christian Nationalist Crusade. In a speech at Elkhorn, Wis., Smith damned both Gen. Dwight Eisenhower and Gov. Adlai Stevenson "as the candidates of New York and Chicago Jews," but praised Joe McCarthy, saying that the US Senate "needs 49 more like him."

DOLLARS FOR FRANCE

To most of our press the French request for a $625 million American offshore procurement commitment, in effect an underwriting of new capital investment, is just another way in which Paris tries to keep down its own tax burdens. Some American officials, long dismayed with the subtle and devious arguments employed by the French in their bargaining sessions, have been encouraging the press to slap the French down hard this time. There may be some justification for such an attitude; the French certainly have not shared the British reluctance to accept aid.

But though the French have been too proud or wise to stress it, their basic motive in trying to get more American aid for airplane factories and tank plants is their need to keep up with Germany. The prosecution of the Indo-China war, and the maintenance of French divisions under NATO are expensive short-term problems for France. But Germany has always been first in the fears of Frenchmen. They know that Germany has not only the men to raise a potentially menacing army, but an industrial potential which has been historically superior to the French.

German industry does not now produce finished war goods. But, the French believe, Germany will demand and win permission to equip her own troops and at least partially convert her factories. It is in anticipation of that day that the French are hurrying to expand their own arsenal potential. French fear of Germany is not given much sympathy in this country. Feelings aside, however, the facts of the last decades make it clear that a peaceful and eventually united Europe can only be achieved if the French and Germans are fairly equal in power. The attainment of such a position in the economic field should be an important criterion in our aid program. The strengthening of French armies in Indo-China will be futile if fear reigns in France.

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THE NEGRO VOTE

Although the new civil rights plank in the Democratic platform is far stronger than that contained in the Republican platform, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D, N.Y.) last week told a New York audience of 3,500, "We are watching the race, but we haven't picked our horse yet." Varying interpretations of the plank have caused a sharp split among Negro political leaders. Rep. William L. Dawson (D, Ill.), a member of the Resolutions Committee that wrote the civil rights plank, is calling for Negroes to continue their allegiance to the Democrats. However, Powell is threatening to lead a Negro movement to bolt the Democratic party unless he can get "firm assurances from Governor Stevenson and Senator Sparkman that they will campaign on a more forthright civil rights program." In Powell's opinion apparently the pledge of loyalty at the Democratic convention applies to Southerners who opposed it but not to the Northern delegates who insisted on its passage. Powell's position is made weaker since Horace Wilkinson, Tom Abernathy, Gessner McCorvey and every Dixiecrat in Alabama are campaigning against Sparkman and for Eisenhower.

SCHUMACHER'S FORTUNES

The next German parliamentary election is not scheduled until the fall of 1953, but the election fever is already mounting in Bonn. The two giants of German politics, Konrad Adenauer and Kurt Schumacher, are jockeying for position. Adenauer is trying to strengthen his prestige by getting his moderate-rightist coalition to pass the contract with the Allies. Schumacher is exerting every effort to thwart the Chancellor. The Constitutional Court has just denied his petition which would have stopped parliament from voting on the contract, but he is already off on other strategems which will make Adenauer's life more difficult.

German land and local elections during the past two years do not show that Schumacher's various campaigns against rearmament, the Schuman Plan, the Council of Europe and similar projects have won him great blocks of votes. He has made gains here and there, but not enough to warrant expectation of a victory in next year's federal election. The German voting pattern has, despite Hitler, war and Communism, remained remarkably traditional. The workers, some young people and a few professionals vote Social Democratic. The middle classes and the peasants vote Christian Democratic. The Ruhr capitalists and some army elements nurture the fringe parties of the Right.

Developments in the past several weeks indicate that the pattern may become even more traditional. This is the result of an apparent swing to Schumacher of the hitherto nominally independent Trade Union Federation. While most workers vote the SPD ticket, the union hierarchy had maintained a neutral attitude, largely because Adenauer had wisely made considerable concessions to labor, especially in the passage of the 1950 co-determination law for the iron and coal industries.

Now co-determination, which gives workers a voice in factory management councils, has been extended to all industry. But under pressure of his rightist coalition partners, Adenauer has pushed through a law which gives labor generally far less influence than it got in heavy industry. Where in iron and coal they had a half-voice, they now get only a third. Furthermore the new law seems to encourage the formation of company unions, and to weaken the influence of the Federation. It presents German labor with an issue similar to the Taft-Hartley Act.

NEW TARIFF PRESSURE

Urged on by recent protectionist revisions in the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the Tariff Commission has been indulging various noisy producing groups by recommending tariff increases of questionable merit. The President won some acclaim for vetoing the Commission's recommendation for an increase in the import duty on garlic. Now he is faced with a similar proposal to boost the tariff on Swiss watches above the present average 37 percent level. Switzerland has been exporting watches to this country at the rate of $60 million a year.

Her total exports to the US last year totaled $131 million. Her total imports from this country during the same period totaled $187 million. If the President were to heed the protectionist's plaint, Switzerland's dollar deficit, already sizable, would be increased to the danger point. She would then either have to cut radically her imports of American tobacco, causing hardship in this country, or approach Congress for inclusion in some form of American aid program. It is expensively paradoxical situations such as this that the President had in mind when he recently asked that the whole tariff question be re-evaluted in terms of present political and economic realities.

A DEAL WITH MOSSADEGH

Iran now has a dictator. He is the same frail, opportunely hysterical old man who has been so consistently ridiculed in the West. Mohammed Mossadegh's tactics are questionable, his allies dangerous and his nationalist appeal perhaps reactionary. Nevertheless, as the *New Republic* has consistently pointed out during the course of his year's battle with Britain, Mossadegh represents the people of Iran. Neither he nor they may know very clearly what his aims are, but he is their leader. His political myth is their political myth, and millions have died for far more fantastic myths than the ideals Mossadegh holds out.

There are signs that Western diplomats in Teheran are conceding Mossadegh's tremendous strength. "There is now practically no disagreement in the [Teheran] political and diplomatic community," writes the New York *Times*' correspondent, "that it is a case of Dr. Mossadegh or nothing." It has taken the experts a long time to come to that conclusion. As little as three weeks ago they tried to foist on the country a pro-British strong man, who within days had to flee for his life. As long as a year ago, Henry Grady remarked, "We have lost the oil wells. The question now is: Will we lose Iran?"

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EUROPE VIEWS THE CONVENTIONS

ONLY THOSE relatively few Western Europeans who really try to fathom the mysteries of US domestic politics heed the warnings of the experts against taking the party platforms too seriously. The others, the great majority, have a newly developed curiosity about US political complexities which is as deep as their understanding of them remains shallow. They tend to assume that the platforms are at least the raw material of definitive state documents, prepared carefully for permanent historical survival and more or less literally binding the future conduct of the administration in power in the White House.

If only because the language of the Democratic Party's foreign-policy plank is more in keeping with such a conception, it seems to these Europeans a great improvement over the Republican Party's version. The issues considered serious in Europe are treated with dignity in a manner which lends weight to the Democratic claim to give policies precedence over personalities. And Europeans have had too much—and unpleasant—experience with the opposite procedure.

The Europeans noticed—before Mrs. India Edwards called attention to the fact—that the United Nations had not been mentioned at all in the big speeches before the Republican convention. To the Europeans the portion about the UN in the Democratic plank seemed sound and sensible. There were also clearer, more forthright and better references than in the GOP plank to such key issues as NATO, EDC, the Schuman Plan, collective security and defense, US recognition of its continuing role in world affairs and of the obligation imposed by international interdependence, and to the "increasing solidarity of the nations of the North Atlantic Community."

The references to trade and tariffs were warmly welcomed, particularly in England where there is little disagreement between the government and opposition about the Chancellor of the Exchequer's principle of "Trade, not Aid." The promise to give "our friends throughout the world" a chance to earn their own living was welcome everywhere. And the promise to revise immigration and naturalization laws went over well in countries like Italy.

On one other subject, which comes close to being *the* big issue in Europe, the Democratic version was only a partial relief after the Republican. There is widespread skepticism about both the morality and the practical wisdom of replacing the present US policy of containment of Soviet imperialist aggression by any kind of crusading doctrine of rollback of the Soviet armies or even of liberation of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. And the fact that such a change, openly implied in the Republican platform, was also hinted at by the Democrats, was singled out for criticism.

Most Western Europeans join—with varying degrees of enthusiasm and confidence—the authors of the Democratic platform in looking forward to the day when the liberties of the once free peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia will be restored to them. However, they very much prefer this relatively Platonic hope to the Dulles doctrine of liberation. They do so because they believe that the Dulles doctrine will play into the hands of the supporters—even more in Europe than in the US—of the Burnhamite promise of a rollback, by force of arms if necessary. And they have doubts, also, about the Democratic hope because they think that it too will inevitably go farther than it intends to go.

The Europeans believe that this is highly dangerous "me-tooism" on the part of the heirs of Franklin Roosevelt. For, they think, it may lead blindly to where the GOP Old Guard may want to go openly, either to the brink of world war or to a situation which may force retreat from the determination to serve peace steadfastly, effectively and intelligently.

On the one hand, a Platonic appeal to the nationalist sentiment, to the desire for national independence of the Poles, the Czechs and to a lesser degree of the other satellite peoples is likely to seem a cruel mockery to these peoples if it is not supported by some outside action. It can lead only to cynicism or discouragement. On the other hand, any implication that such support will be given can lead only to high hopes bound to be deceived or to premature rebellion certain to end suicidally for patriots "inside" and hence to general despair.

Discontent is certainly great among the satellite peoples, or at least among large minorities. But every unbiased report which has reached Western Europe agrees with Ambassador Kennan's view that the people of the Soviet Union itself are far from ripe for insurrection. And in view of the tightening Soviet control over the satellites, Western Europeans find it hard to believe that any clear distinction can at present be made and maintained between the satellites and the Soviet Union. Any attempt to use the Poles, for example, as a lever against the Russians would end tragically for the Poles, foster exacerbated Russian nationalism, and damage US prestige.

The implied change in US policy seems to suggest the legal notion that a citizen of one nation—again Poland, for example—cannot be called upon to carry out duties to another nation—in this case the Soviet Union. But the French Government has just adopted a decree by which the provisions of the French Penal Code for the "external security of the [French] state" are now to apply equally to all the nations of NATO. Thus, a Frenchman who carries out spying, intelligence with the enemy, undermining of morale or damage to military installations or materiel in time of peace to the detriment of the US or other non-French nations may be tried as a traitor to France. Of course, this is done in the name of the common defense of freedom. Yet it suggests that the Russians may have the law on their side in getting Poland to condemn Polish patriots.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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WHY ARE WE FIGHTING IN KOREA?

WHY ARE WE fighting in Korea? Our soldiers in the front lines, whose combat morale is high, stumble on the answer. Civilians, five thousand miles away, know still less as they learn from General Van Fleet, Commander of our 8th Army, that after two years at war the Communists "still have the capability of striking at any point" and that after one year of truce talks "recent trends indicate less of a chance for an armistice than ever before."

Why are we fighting? If you go to the Pentagon and read through the three thick volumes of official releases on the truce talks, you will come away aware only of a grey blur. You learn much of the flights of helicopters and the journeys of jeeps to the meeting places; little of our purpose, and not much more if you turn to the occasional rhetoric of Secretary Acheson and President Truman. The lack of public reaction to Van Fleet's depressing statement is a sign of the nation's apathy, as well as a real tribute to its patience and its trust.

Our mood was different on June 23, 1951, when Jacob Malik's broadcast opened a road to the tents at Kaesong. MacArthur was calling then for all out war against China; our troops were advancing slowly against positions that were not yet fortified. The will to reach a truce seemed apparent on both sides. The talks in Kaesong were marred by trouble with flood waters, continuous "incidents," difficulty with communications, and extreme tension on both sides. None the less progress was made. By July 26 the Communists gave up their insistence that the negotiations consider the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea. An agenda was adopted. Point one was the agenda itself; point two was the establishment of a permanent truce line; point three was the provision of inspection and enforcement machinery; point four was prisoner repatriation. Point five was the arrangement of a subsequent political conference. The UN briefing officer, Major Nuckols, reported that Admiral Joy and General Nam Il "had their elbows on the table." However the elbows were forced off the table by a series of "incidents" and disagreement on the 38th parallel, politically indispensable for the Communists, militarily indefensible for us. The talks collapsed.

For the Communists, obviously, all lines went back to Moscow. In Moscow on October 5, Admiral Kirk and André Vishinsky discussed the resumption of negotiations. When they began again, on October 22, the Communist troops were down to 60 percent strength in the front lines. North Korean and Chinese soldiers captured by raiding parties, reported lack of ammunition, poor equipment, bad food and low morale. To make things worse for the Communists the UN Air Force started "Operation Strangle" one of the greatest air interdiction campaigns ever attempted. But the Communists evidently had plans of their own. When "Operation Strangle" ended in early 1952, the Communist forces were up to full strength, with new weapons, and good clothing and provisions. Their railroads were operating.

The initial weakness of the Communists in the autumn contributed to their willingness to retreat in negotiations from their former insistence on the 38th parallel. The UN in turn agreed to narrow the demilitarized zone from 20 to 2½ miles. Then the talks progressed rapidly. Point one on the agenda was accepted. Point two was agreed. Point three became progressively less important as the UN withdrew from its first demands. Point five was advanced by the little word "etc." The State Department instructed the UN delegation to accept with only one reservation the Communist proposal to fulfill point five by having the negotiations "recommend" to their governments a "high level" conference after the armistice, "to settle the questions of withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc." The Communists agreed, arguing that "etc." included Formosa and UN membership for Communist China. The UN reservation specified that "we wish it clearly understood that we do not construct the words 'et cetera' to relate to matters outside Korea." This was agreed on February 17. Further agreement on point three, the inspection issue, seemed possible on March 20, when the Communists ceased to insist that Russia should be one of the "neutral" members of the supervisory team. Basically, by March 1952, the prisoner issue alone remained.

Talks on the prisoner issue had actually started in December. It was in a subcommittee then that the two sides exchanged prisoner lists. The UN list contained 132,000 names: 16,000 South Koreans, 20,000 Chinese Communist soldiers, and 96,000 North Koreans. The Communist list included only 11,599 names, including 3,198 Americans and 7,142 South Koreans.

The exchange of these lists led to immediate protests. The UN demanded to know why the Communists had not listed 50,000 South Koreans which they had claimed to have captured. The Communists demanded inclusion in the lists of an additional 37,000

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troops captured by the UN. These men were South Koreans, impressed into the Red Armies, and therefore reclassified as civilians, not as prisoners of war.

When the full delegations discussed in executive session the exchange of these prisoners, the Communists implied that they would forget the 37,000 South Koreans. They proposed a "recheck" of the prisoners of war, implicitly approving the UN screening process. So the screening in the compounds at Koje began.

Had the UN command known in July, 1951, that the war would still be raging 12 months later, it might have moved at once to regroup the prisoners into small and manageable groups. However it was believed then, that an armistice would be quickly reached. The UN command followed the traditional, dangerous course of leaving the prisoners in large compounds, under their own officers, subject to their own internal discipline, and with only skeleton UN troops to stand guard.

Under these conditions the screening took place. The UN, contrary to Communist propaganda, stacked the results heavily in favor of the Communists. It retreated from its original insistence on "voluntary repatriation" to "non-forcible repatriation." That is, instead of asking North Koreans and Chinese, "Do you want to return?" it asked them, "Would you forcibly resist return?" To further stack the results, the UN command proposed to the Chinese Communists that they issue a general amnesty, promising to disregard anti-Communist mottos tattooed on the prisoners, and other signs of anti-Communism. This the Communists did, and the amnesty was publicized throughout the compounds. Yet the interrogation of 106,000 prisoners in two weeks demonstrated unsuspected hatred for Communism. The South Koreans of course wanted to remain in their homes. The Chinese showed a higher percentage who would "forcibly resist" repatriation than the North Koreans. It has since become clear that the original "screening operation" was poorly executed. UN interrogators, unable to enter many compounds, had to make rough guesses. Their calculations were slipshod and the UN command now admits the figure closer to 80,000. The Communists however did not cavil about minor discrepancies. The UN estimated that 70,000 prisoners might be repatriated. This figure, far below the previous guesses of the UN, caused the Communists to rise in fury.

Since then General Harrison, the new chief negotiator, has tried many variations of the formula. The Communists have replied that they are interested in numbers of prisoners, not in words. Meanwhile according to General Van Fleet the Communists have prepared themselves for a deadlock of indefinite duration.

One year ago, the Communist weakness lay in the lack of fortified positions. Now their lines are fortified, making ground advances by the UN extremely costly. Later their weakness was lack of air defense. Now they have the world's second or third strongest air force, one sixth of Russia's front line strength. Given these defenses, the UN hopes turned to amphibious landings behind the Communist lines. Now General Van Fleet reveals that the Reds have built up their defenses on both coasts. He adds that the Communists have "finally come to their senses" thinning out their troops in the front lines where they were exposed to continuous UN artillery fire. Their one million troops are now in positions where they can be kept indefinitely on the assumption that there will be no armistice, and no UN ground attack.

If the Communists are ready for a stalemate in Korea, are we? What principle makes worthwhile our continued losses and our major efforts there?

On the exchange of prisoners, an issue of principle has been raised. The Communists have taken a position in accordance with their fundamental beliefs. For them the individual is integrated in the state; the maintenance of absolute power forbids the recognition of any legal escape road; every citizen must know that if he goes over to the enemy in time of war, the long arm of the state will get him back.

On our side, nations which defend the right of political asylum in peacetime can hardly abandon it in war.

How basic is this principle, which applies today chiefly to 14,000 of the 20,000 Chinese prisoners?

The principle at stake is important, and it is politically related to the significance which the Korean war has come to assume in Asia. Many Asians have long believed that the United States dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki because the inhabitants of these cities were not white. They suspect America and the European nations who play a major role in the United Nations of an unconscious contempt for non-whites. This dangerous misconception will be strengthened if the UN goes back on its word and turns over unwilling Asians to Communist rule in order to regain the freedom of a much smaller group of American prisoners. Whether or not the truce is finally reached, the United Nations, and many allied divisions are committed to guard Korea against another attack. For us the principal difference between a truce and a stalemate is the return of 11,000 Communist-held prisoners and the ending of the continuing but fortunately short casualty lists. The difference is not great, in contrast with the dangers of world war. If patience is needed to move from a stalemate to a truce, then patience is worth it for peace.

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SENATE STRUGGLE IN THE WEST

by Richard L. Neuberger

SURELY it is one of the real ironies of this or any other election year that Harry P. Cain's only chance of political survival rests with Dwight Eisenhower.

Cain is the most reactionary and demagogic Senator ever sent to the national capital by the state of Washington in modern times. He has no modifying traits such as a warm personality or friendly appearance. No one could be in greater contrast to the genial General Ike. Bitter, irascible and loose-lipped, Cain did all he could to promote MacArthur, whom he has lauded in terms rarely applied to a mortal. He cast one of the two Senate votes against a 70-group Air Force. He spent $6,132 of the public's funds filling up 73 pages of the *Congressional Record* with Asia-first material favorable to the China Lobby. He voted to cut foreign aid and to jettison reciprocal-trade agreements. Cain is the man who did the sardonic hatchet job on Sen. Alexander Wiley for his internationalist views.

Yet today the Republican whom MacArthur and his confederates tried desperately to block for the party's nomination is the last best hope for Harry Cain. An Eisenhower sweep of colossal proportions in the state of Washington could conceivably drag Cain to victory—so that Cain might snipe at Eisenhower and an enlightened American foreign policy throughout Eisenhower's entire first term in the White House.

On his own, Cain would sink back into obscurity in Tacoma, for he has a formidable and popular opponent, Congressman Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson, who has represented Washington's seacoast 2nd District since 1940, when he was 28 years old. No pair of adversaries could be better foils for each other. Jackson, a solid chunky bachelor, has voted with the liberal side on nearly every major issue. Yet he is the master of the understatement. His speeches are matter-of-fact and direct. He rarely voices the usual liberal clichés. In appearance he looks more like a football guard than a politician and his Norwegian ancestry should appeal to Scandinavian voters.

Largely because of a close personal friendship stemming from their service together in the House, Jackson was a zealous supporter of Estes Kefauver for the Democratic nomination. However, most party leaders in Seattle and Tacoma believe Stevenson will do well in the state. In 1947, before he entered politics, Stevenson tramped through Washington's Gifford Pinchot National Forest. Rangers and naturalists still remember that he had more scientific lore about Western conservation and development than some of their trained people.

Cain is 46 years old, Jackson 40. They are too far apart on everything else to communicate by telegraph. Cain's voting record is uniformly bleak, unrelieved by any shafts of illumination. He even opposed supplemental funds for power facilities at Grand Coulee Dam, the world's biggest irrigation and hydroelectric project, which is located near the center of Washington and has benefited the economy of the whole state.

In 1950 *Time* selected Cain as one of eight Senate "Expendables" whose departure would be no loss to the nation. This episode showed why even fellow Senators, hardened to oratorical savagery, are fidgety and embarrassed when Cain holds the floor. Cain suggested that *Time* fire Frank McNaughton, whom he identified as the author of the unfavorable list of Senators. He ridiculed McNaughton for not being a college graduate: "He is a second-rate prewar and postwar citizen." By now Cain was genuinely warming up to his task. With loosened collar and waving fist, he denounced McNaughton for not having served in the Army: "He has neither lived broadly nor ever heard a shot fired in anger. He has undoubtedly encouraged other men to die, but he has never . . . watched them die."

This was unquestionably a reference to Cain's own widely heralded duty overseas in military government during World War II, from which billet he was not too busy to run *in absentia* for the Senate without success against Warren G. Magnuson in 1944. Cain went on to use his Senatorial immunity still further, "Frank McNaughton," said the Senator, "has nothing but an ulcerous, clever, untraveled pen. . . . I did not even want to bat him around physically because that would have been like punching a bag of mush."

This sort of language is characteristic of Cain, who once boasted, "I have been said by many to be the number-one real-estate lobbyist in America. I have never resented this title." Many people in Washington state are convinced that restraint fetters neither the words nor actions of their junior Senator. Three years ago Cain suddenly proposed that Western reclamation projects, instead of being financed out of the federal treasury, should be built with $3.5 billion worth of revenue bonds floated by the states. This not only reversed a federal

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policy first begun by Theodore Roosevelt. It also would have been tantamount to a New York Senator suggesting that his state take over financial responsibility for West Point.

As a Senator from Washington, Cain is living on borrowed time. This is the state which President Truman swept by 90,000 votes in 1948 when he had thin majorities of only 33,000 in Illinois and 18,000 in California, realms with many times the population of Washington. Cain is the sole Republican Senator the state has had during the past 20 years. He came in with "the class of '46," after a few years as mayor of Tacoma.

In many essentials Cain's election was a fluke. He defeated Hugh B. Mitchell, a scholarly young liberal who had been appointed to the Senate by Gov. Mon Wallgren. The Wallgren regime at the state capital was beginning to fall apart and the Governor had named Dave Beck of the Teamsters to the University of Washington Board of Regents, a move highly unpopular with other trade unions. Mitchell was not helped by this association. He actually lost to Cain in labor strongholds. In addition, Sen. Wayne Morse impetuously rushed north from Oregon to campaign for Cain, a move Morse now must bitterly regret. And Cain appealed to some independents, for in the 1930s he had been a zealous Young Democrat who mouthed the prevailing Democratic platitudes as fervently as he now assails rent controls for having forced landlords into "involuntary servitude."

Mud is sure to fly as furiously as snowflakes in the Yukon when the Cain *vs.* Jackson donneybrook gets under way. Cain never uses one epithet when two will do. The contenders are unopposed in their party primaries September 9. Jackson has been advised to stick to issues and not to mix with Cain in a fight of offal and sludge. The development of atomic energy for both peace and war has been one of Jackson's principal themes, a natural interest because the state of Washington harbors the vast Hanford Works, where plutonium undergoes its final fiery processing. As a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy Jackson has emphasized Washington's strategic role in nuclear fission, created by its hydroelectric reserves.

Although Washington state newspapers are preponderantly conservative, Jackson receives a good press. To begin with, he has few personal enemies because of a placid disposition. He is not a back-slapper, a fact appreciated by most reporters. Newspapermen are a clannish lot who resent Cain's unmerciful attack on McNaughton of *Time*. This was a breach against the entire club. And more than one Washington state publisher, tory to the core, feels that the cause of conservatism is damaged by a spokesman as insensitive to normal human friendliness as Harry Cain.

There are many people in the state who agree with Cain politically, yet dislike him intensely on a personal basis. Jackson, by contrast, has innumerable friends who do not go along with his political ideas. What chance, then, has Cain in the election? His whole fate is bound up with the Eisenhower candidacy. If Eisenhower should sweep the state of Washington, would voters be sufficiently discriminatory to vote Republican at the national level and Democratic in the next tier on the ballot? This is a delicate operation and it does not always come off when more than 1.2 million eligible electors are involved. It is a grim jest that if Taft had been nominated by the Republicans, Taft's zealous adherent, Cain, could not have been found on the day after November 4 with the Lick Telescope.

Cain can return to the Senate only if he joins what Gov. Ernest Gruening of Alaska once called "coat-tail riders of the purple sage." Whether Ike will hold out his coat-tails for Cain probably depends upon the counsel he gets from Washington's 52-year-old Republican Governor, Arthur B. Langlie.

Langlie led off for the Eisenhower forces the day the Fair Play amendment to the rules was adopted at the Republican convention. A Langlie protégé, State Sen. Donald W. Eastvold of Tacoma, was a wow on TV for the Eisenhower cause when the Georgia issue was won. In fact, the entire Washington state delegation to the GOP convention reaped acres of political hay, for Ike's nomination undoubtedly has been popular in the Northwest. In Oregon, the one state of the region where the General's appeal was tested at the polls, he ran four to one ahead of Warren, who stumped Oregon vigorously.

In some measure, the race between Cain and Jackson may be a litmus paper to gauge the character of the Eisenhower candidacy. If Eisenhower can embrace Cain, he can take to his bosom any Republican nominee, including McCarthy himself. Indeed, Cain's voting record has been more reactionary and his language more intemperate than that of Joe McCarthy. At least, McCarthy voted against the basing-point system for big industrial monopolies. Cain didn't even do this, although the issue was more crucial to a Western state like Washington than to a Middlewestern state like Wisconsin.

What will Eisenhower do? When his campaign train rolls along the Columbia River and down the shores of Puget Sound, will he ask the folks at villages and towns to send back to the Senate "my good friend," Harry Cain?

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EVITA THE DESCAMISADA

by Bruce Bliven

THE FIRST thing to do, once you have got to the top, is to put all those women you hated so much in their place.

There have always been those women, almost since you can remember. When you were a half-grown girl in the little prairie town of Los Toldos, west of Buenos Aires, already they would look at you sideways and let their eyes slide quickly away. The young Señoritas did it, pacing slowly around the plaza in the cool of the evening by twos and threes, glancing at you quickly and then at each other, tittering behind the black fans. You knew what they were saying: it was something about yourself and the four other older children in the family, something about the irregularity of the arrangement between your father and your mother. But whatever they said, it was not the words that mattered, but the look—the look that burned and left a scar.

It was not much better when at last your mother moved to the big town of Junin. You children had to work, all of you, in the boarding-house she started.

It was a little better in Buenos Aires, to which you had run away at the age of 16, pretending, naturally, to be older. With your pretty face and figure and the hair you had learned to bleach to an odd, silvery blondeness, you had become a camp follower of the strange half-world of Argentine movies and radio. In that region of quick and casual friendships, of liaisons lightly begun and violently ended, no one asks or cares who you are.

Yet even here there are the women: the wives of the top executives who, unbelievably, are paid the year around and eat accordingly. There is no special reason for them to notice the young extra girl, fighting so desperately for a bit part, the one with the silvery blonde hair and the wolfish look; but they do. Those quick slanting glances again.

Then, so suddenly that it seems like a dream, you are in a position to show them. The Army Colonel whom you met when you were 24 and he was just twice your age, who has moved to your floor in the apartment house on the Calle Posadas, is on his way up. People look out of the corners of their eyes at him, too, not only women but men; they do so with fear, not with scornful amusement. Now you can flaunt your way, clinging to the Colonel's arm, through the ranks of the possible insulters. A few months of this and it happens. The Colonel is arrested; you lead the howling mob of his followers, the Descamisados, the shirtless ones, to demand his release. In a breath, so it seems, he is set free, you are married, and then he is the President, with both an army and a mob to do his—and your—bidding.

Now, now, now, it begins. Now you move into the palace on the Avenida Alvear, with more servants than you know what to do with. Now all those wives, those great ladies who scorned you or looked through you, now they come when they are summoned, pale and trembling in their silk, crowded in a room, waiting for the doors to open and for you to enter and be gracious. Now begins that ceaseless buying of costumes, $40,000 a year from Paris alone, until three great rooms are jammed with the racks on which the dresses hang. Now come the jewel salesmen bowing low and backing out.

Now a word is spoken across a quiet dinner table and certain famous actresses are no longer heard on the radio or seen in the motion pictures. Some of them, swathed to their terrified eyes, race in the dead of night in motorcars for the border of Uruguay or scamper at the last minute up the gangplank of a freighter bound for God knows where.

Now, now, it has begun. Those Ladies of the Sociedad de Beneficencia, with their noses in the air, who used to make jokes about the girl of the Colonel, not caring whether those jokes were repeated in certain quarters: all that charity work is to stop—*do you hear?*—is to stop *now*. You will have your own charity, and it will be colossal, so that those ladies of the tiptilted noses will be ashamed retroactively of their puny efforts. Of this charity work you will speak sometimes to your own Descamisados, as they pack together in their cheering tens of thousands, while on the platform above the microphones you wait, small and silvery-haired, swathed in mink and diamonds. You and the Descamisados understand one another, perhaps even better than the Colonel-President understands either of you.

When the pain begins, you try at first to ignore it. There is still so much to do, before you will be satisfied. There are still a few haughty old women who continue to ignore you; somehow they must be forced out into the open. There is your book, *The Purpose of My Life*; can you be sure that everyone has read it? Then there comes the day when the pain is everything. At last you must give up and lie down to die. But you cannot reproach yourself for tasks undone; after all, you have come a very long way from the plaza of Los Toldos, where after sundown the Señoritas pace the square, looking sideways at a half-naked child in the dust.

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CHINA TURNS TO SLAVE LABOR

by Tom Brooks

STALIN SENT ARMAMENTS to China to hold the lines in Korea. A lesser known export has been even more significant. The Air Force's "Operation Strangle" that was intended to end the war came to nothing when the Chinese employed up to 2,000 transcript laborers to repair each mile of bombed out railroad tracks. Within China the Soviet slave labor system has had an even greater impact.

"China is next to the Soviet Union as far as the number of slave laborers is concerned," Matthew Wold testified before the UN on behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. He estimated the number at "well above one million." Mrs. Pandit, Nehru's sister, returned from India's cultural mission to Peking to report that two million men had been conscripted from their lands to work on one dam alone. They received no pay, she reported, but were supposed to be given land acreage later on as a reward.

Where does slavery begin, and where does it end? Mrs. Pandit's figures are of conscript labor; those of the ICFTU, painstakingly gathered from every possible source, are of forced labor alone, that is of men condemned to hard labor because of "crimes against the state." It is compiled from facts, such as these, taken from Chinese Communist sources:

- On the Ch'ingho Farm, run by the Peiping Bureau of Public Safety and located along the Peiping-Shanhaikwan Railroad, there are now some 5,000 slave laborers according to a news story by Wang Ta-jen, in *Kuanguing Jih Pao* (The Light Daily) of Peiping, October 18, 1951.
- There are, in addition, nine large or small hard labor prisons in the suburbs of Peiping with more than 80,000 offenders.
- A dispatch from Tientsin in North China in the pro-Communist Hongkong, *Ta Kun Pao*, September 4, 1951, reports: "The Tientsin Municipal Prison has altogether four cotton knitting factories for the reform of offenders by hard labor. . . . In the last two years almost a thousand offenders have been through this process of reform."
- Ku Ta-chun, Deputy Chairman of the Kwangtung People's Provincial Government, reports in the *Nangfang Jih Pao* (Northern Daily), September 18, 1951: "During the past 10 months, the authorities dealt with 1,571 cases of counter revolutionaries, arresting a total of 89,701 persons. Among them 28,332 persons were executed." Allowing for a reported six percent of the total placed on house arrest—"released on bail to labor under the supervision of the village governments and the masses," the ICFTU estimates that some 60,000 are "assigned to labor so as to lessen the burdens of the people and to indoctrinate their political thinking."
- The Hongkong *Times*, June 6, 1951 reported that beginning from 1950, for a period of one year, there was concentrated in the Kung-chuan-Tzeyang section a total of more than 200,000 forced laborers.
- In Shanghai Communist figures show that at least 6,849 offenders have been subjected to compulsory labor in the period from August to November, 1951.
- Deputy Police Commissioner Sun Lo-Yi of Canton testified before the Commission for Suppression of Counter-revolutionaries on August 29, 1951 that: "Regarding the reform of offenders by compulsory labor, 3,798 offenders have now taken part in productive hard labor."
- A Reuters dispatch from Hongkong dated June 18, 1952 reports that General Yeh Chien-Ying, governor of Kwuangtung province, has ordered between 200,000 and 250,000 convicts in the province to work in the tungsten mines in southern Kiangsi province.

When the Communists first came to power over two and one-half years ago suppression of "the counter-revolution-elements" meant death for "so-called bandits, rascals, secret agents, reactionary parties or groups, and reactionary associations and clans." However, in accordance with the directive of Mao Tse-tung as spelled out in a statement of policy by Chou En-Lai, Premier of Communist China, it was decided that, "in the meting out of punishment, the following principles should be followed:

> To those leading counter-revolutionary elements who owe us a debt in blood, who are so bitterly hated by the people that they must be executed, who have seriously hurt the interests of the state, the death sentence must be imposed and must forth-with be executed. To those other elements who deserve the death penalty, but who do not owe us a debt in blood, who are not so bitterly hated by the people, who have hurt national interests but not most seriously, the policy is to impose upon them the death sentence, but to postpone its execution for two years, to send them to forced labor, and to see how they come out.

The reason for this modification of the policy of suppression is revealed in a statement by Lo Yiu-ching,

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Minister of Public Security (the equivalent to the NKVD head.) "These men [for] whom we have postponed execution are also a sizeable source of manpower from the economic point of view. We are now organizing them to labor for the state. We are giving them a chance to reform themselves. At the same time, they will have a definite effect upon certain state production enterprises."

This effect can be seen in the example of the "New Man Village" of the North Kiangsu Land Reclamation Area established in 1950. *Shin Tao Daily*, October 18, 1951, a pro-Communist Hongkong paper reported:

> After a little more than a year, this vast expanse of wasteland has been completely transformed into a large community. Numerous spiritless souls have been animated into active human beings by hard labor.

While undergoing this transubstantiation, these slave laborers developed 10,000 mows of arable land (a mow is one-sixth of an acre); built some large buildings ("with blue bricks and red tile"), wide highways, waterways and various small factories for iron work, carpentry work and bamboo work, stocking knitting and sewing.

Physical conditions do not make life easier for slave labor camp inmates. "Each plow was fixed with four reins to be pulled by four fellow prisoners," Chung Chi, former prisoner, related. "The guard, who held the handle of the plow would whip us whenever the slightest displeasure was incurred."

Food for the inmates is bad and often has to be foraged from the surrounding countryside. Dysentery and other stomach troubles are common illnesses. Discipline is severe. Prisoners in one camp were marched to work by fours, "hand in hand, one row following the other. No one was allowed to get out of place nor allowed to glance to the right or left." If a prisoner managed to break out of the line," his neighbors to the right, left, front and back would be held responsible." In another camp weary prisoners were warned by the guard that he would not hesitate to shoot anyone who fell behind—this he regarded "as an attempt to escape."

Punishment in the slave labor camps combines the physical with "brain-washing." Depending upon his infraction the inmate may: Confess to the small group of which he is a part; apologize to a larger meeting; be hand-and-leg cuffed, isolated and imprisoned; or be tried and executed. The prisoners themselves sit in judgment of their fellow. But their role is to exhibit the proper enthusiasm over whatever the sentence may be and to give semblance to the pretense that the sentence originates with inmates of the camp.

The experience of a former slave laborer, Ting Yao-tsung, shows what this can mean. While cutting some wood, Ting was careless and skinned his hand. "At a mutual criticism meeting they all considered that I had deliberately injured myself in order to avoid work. I was punished by being made to stand facing the wall." (This meant standing with both eyes facing a white wall.) "After a certain period of time, you become so dizzy . . . you collapse and fall down."

This was a mild form of punishment. Ting was also warned, along with fellow inmates: "Don't prove yourself as hopeless beyond reform. If you continue to think and act like an ulcer of this society, you will soon be removed."

AMERICA PLUS—DEMOCRACY MINUS

by Ted Oster

A NEW ORGANIZATION, with all the earmarks of becoming another neo-fascist nationwide movement of the America First type, is now flourishing in San Francisco. It is called America Plus—P for Property, L for Liberty, U for Unity, and S for Strength.

When the residents of a South San Francisco neighborhood voted recently against accepting a Chinese family as fellow home-owners, California state Sen. Jack B. Tenney endorsed the proceeding, not in his capacity as former chairman of the Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California, but as honorary national chairman of America Plus, which he helped to found in Los Angeles last year. "If the people don't have the right to vote on their neighbors, they don't have the right to vote on their President," Tenney said of the South San Francisco incident. "I concur with America Plus in asserting that every man has the right to determine his associates, employees, clients and neighbors."

Although restrictive covenants in property deeds are not valid under the law they would be legalized in California if a proposed Freedom-of-Choice amendment, which America Plus is trying to qualify for the November ballot, is made a part of the state constitution. *Eyes Front America,* a pamphlet stating the policies of the organization, calls Tenney "Los Angeles County's brilliant, fearless and popular state senator. . . . He knows the enemy. . . . No finer public figure or leader could have offered his services on behalf of America's greatest cause." It abounds with sentences like, "The American neighborhood must be given the right to protect its own property values and to fix its own standards of culture,

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congeniality and happiness through its own association voluntarily created to achieve those ends." Elsewhere, America Plus has said:

The American citizen has the right to indulge his own biases, prejudices and preferences. In some form these are a part of the very nature of every citizen. The state can no more compel "tolerance" than it can compel people to be good. Not legal coercion but only friendly enlightenment and gradual understanding can soften and perhaps in the end remove human friction. . . . Actually, it is seldom possible to tell when bias and prejudice end and where personal preferences begin. . . . The restaurant owner who declines to serve a Negro may not have the slightest ill-feeling toward him. . . .

To America Plus, civil rights are not rights at all but wrongs. *Eyes Front America* says, "Civil wrongs, perpetrated in the name of 'civil rights codes,' against the rights of the owners of hotels, restaurants, apartment houses and other public accommodations to choose their own guests, patrons and tenants, must be abolished." It is the opinion of Aldrich Blake, the organization's executive secretary, that the remedying of these civil wrongs would "correct the abuses which have resulted from coercive legislation and slanted court decisions and reduce, not augment, racial tensions."

America Plus warns that we are threatened by a "mighty enemy army within the nation," which is "commanded from Moscow" and "officered by American stooges of the Soviet Union." *Eyes Front America* refers to "the long chain of political and economic abuses and usurpations which have already been perpetrated by this enemy army within the nation," and cites these three links in proof:

In many of the states, the owners of hotels, restaurants, apartment houses, and other types of public accommodation have been deprived of the right to choose their own guests, patrons and tenants. . . .

To an ever increasing degree, American employers, in the name of "fair employment practices," have been shorn of their right to employ others, in their own free discretion, or even to inquire about their background. . . .

Millions of American citizens, without regard to character or whether wanted or not, have been forcibly quartered during both peace and war in the privately owned dwelling accommodations of others, in flagrant violation of the property owner's hitherto unchallenged right to decide who shall live under his roof.

America Plus accuses the Communists of striving for the very thing that its program would accomplish. According to *Eyes Front America,* "Enemy spies and saboteurs have been allowed to run at large within the nation . . . sapping its democratic vitality by creating class and race hatreds among its people. . . ."

America Plus claims members in more than a hundred cities. There are no local chapters, its system being to organize by states with officers to be named once a state has enough members. California has the largest membership, but Blake expects Oklahoma's soon will surpass it, and he said a northern state, which he did not identify, "threatens to go ahead of both of them." Blake is not telling how many members America Plus has. That information will come out piecemeal as the Freedom-of-Choice amendment is submitted to the various state legislatures which will be advised how many members America Plus has in each state.

Tenney is the only nationally-known figure publicly associated with America Plus, but others "much better known," according to Blake, "are quietly supporting it. "We have the tentative promise of one very dynamic and colorful figure to take over the national chairmanship," Blake wrote this writer last March. "We also have the promise of a very high ranking retired Marine to take over our eastern headquarters which will be established in the next few weeks. . . ."

Blake used to be a man of liberal convictions. Thirty years ago, he was secretary to Oklahoma's Gov. Jack Walton, whose opposition to the Ku Klux Klan won him the minority-group support that put him into office. Also in the 'twenties, Blake headed a national anti-Klan association. He was still liberally inclined as recently as 1945, when he published *You Wear the Big Shoe,* which urged city-council reform in Los Angeles. In this book, Blake said:

But unfortunately, the people of Los Angeles have not limited their choice of councilmen by charter inhibitions alone. They have also acquired prejudices and set up mental barriers which have cost them much of their finest potential law making talent.

Thus there is not a Jewish name among all the councilmen chosen since the present Los Angeles charter was adopted in 1925. No Negro has been selected for councilmanic duty during that period. . . .

In the same book, Blake complained that the citizens of Los Angeles were "inveigled into doing the ridiculous" by the press and civic leaders, including such "absurd trivia" as voting for an amendment to the city charter specifying that "all city ordinances shall be printed in the patriotic color scheme of red, white and blue!" But today the same Aldrich Blake swears by a red-, white- and blue-covered pamphlet that speaks of "sacred American soil," of "the so-called United Nations" as "this international cabal," and depicts General MacArthur as having been gagged by the UN.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

FACTUAL PHILOSOPHY

THE NEW PERSPECTIVE, by Rudolf Jordan (University of Chicago; $5).

THE TEMPER of present day philosophy is factual, empirical; it looks with suspicion at highly speculative, rationalistic claims. Typical contemporary philosophies like pragmatism, positivism, naturalism existentialism—all strongly emphasize the factual, the experimental, the existential. Even such traditional philosophies as idealism and scholasticism have modified considerably certain phases of their systems under the pressure of new facts and scientific developments. Rudolf Jordan, a philosopher at Cape Town, South Africa, strikes a receptive chord in many by setting forth in his *New Perspective,* a philosophy of factualism. He insists that philosophers should start "from facts" and forget about the "unreal world and muddled ideas." Referring to his own philosophic outlook, he writes, "We start from facts and not from concepts."

The factual world, for Mr. Jordan, consists of the worlds of the macrocosm, the microcosm, and the megalocosm. The macrocosm is the world that "we can experience with our senses, aided and unaided." This includes "all that we can see in a telescope and in a microscope"; it is limited "by the atom, on the one side, and the solar system, on the other side." The macrocosm as we know it has five dimensions: the three spatial ones, time, and individuality. The world below the atom is the microcosm, and the world beyond the solar system is the megalocosm. All of these should be considered in "realistic", rather than "idealistic" terms. Idealism, [the Platonic concept that all existence is idea] for Mr. Jordan, is not tenable in the light of the known facts. The only real things are the individualized facts; abstractions are real only as physical events in the brain.

The kind of world Mr. Jordan is describing is a discontinuous one. Causality is not universally applicable. In a thoroughly individualized world no strict, repeatable "causality is given or possible or even thinkable as a universal principle." There is wide scope for accidence, by which term Mr. Jordan means the intersection of two different causal chains. The driving of my car and the action of its engine are instances of causality; but if a car shoots out from a side road and damages my car and injures me, that is accidence. This articular event "could not have been given or known before or deduced from given known conditions." Within this setting of a limited causality and widespread accidence, life and mind emerge as natural events. Life reflects the basic qualities of certain organized chemical elements. Mind is the factual phenomenon of a large group of specialized cells expressing in their actions the whole individual human body.

As for the strictly human problems—social, moral, aesthetic, scientific—Mr. Jordan's major interest lies in the adjustment of man to the world's new large population through the agency of his increased intellectual power. A new "moral code is required which connects man with the new great masses of his species." This is the task of "reflecting consciousness, of the newly increased intelligence, and of contemporary philosophy as the leader of this intelligence." This task can be successfully executed only "on a very wide and strictly factual basis."

Mr. Jordan is keenly interested in facts, as all genuine philosophers should be. His presentation of the facts of geology, meterology, climatology, zoology, biology and psychology is reliable, precise though sketchy. These facts are useful in giving one a sense of the kind of world we live in and in showing one how a new perspective in philosophy may be developed. He makes valuable and stimulating comments on the perennial problems of philosophy. He develops a coherent factualistic philosophy free from the unconfirmable absolutes of the classic philosophies and traditional religions. Yet when he touches upon the fundamental philosophic conflicts his vast array of facts is not always helpful.

First, it should be noted that the fundamental philosophic conflicts are not about facts in the usual sense of the word. If had they been so, one would have settled them by going to the facts. The philosophic conflicts are concerned, rather, with the interpretation of facts. After the facts are in, there remains the difficult task of selecting and interpreting them. But there are different types of interpretation: the mechanical, the teleological, and the organismical. Which type of interpretation is adequate? What ideal of intelligibility has one to entertain in terms of which one's interpretation may be considered satisfactory? What facts are to be selected?

Let us take, for example, the philosophic problems of knowledge to which Mr. Jordan several times refers: What is the relation of the known objects of our environment to the knowing mind? Are the known objects independent of the knowing mind, as realists argue; or do they depend for their existence on a knowing mind, human or divine, as idealists argue? This problem has innumerable nuances, layers of difficulty; and many alternative answers are possible. How does Mr. Jordan deal with this complex problem? He merely dismisses the idealistic views by claiming that the facts are against them. But what facts? "The world . . . exists quite independently of us. Thus it appears to our senses." But can the theory of knowledge be so easily explained? The epistemological issue does not lie solely in the so-called perceptual facts, but in the interpretation of these facts in relation to many other basic ideas, such as those of existence, relation, and mind.

Similarly, take Mr. Jordan's criticism of the universal applicability of causality. "The concept of causality," he writes, "is not confirmed in its strict

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sense by the facts today and must be discarded as a universal category of thinking." Yet here again the issue is not so easily settled by referring to obvious facts. All would agree with Mr. Jordan that universal causality is not fully confirmed; yet whether or not causality should be taken as an ideal of intelligibility towards which one may approach indefinitely is a question that cannot be answered by merely referring to the factual situation as it exists today, to the limited extent to which causality has been confirmed. If one limited one's scientific as well as one's moral ideals only to what has been confirmed one would be in a sorry state indeed.

And again, through his overemphasis on facts, Mr. Jordan, makes a short work of abstractions and mathematics. "In our philosophy we start with fact and not from concept." "All mathematical concepts . . . must be discarded when we approach reality." "Valuations are never abstract but always factual." One could multiply indefinitely such quotations. But what are facts apart from the abstractions they involve? Black marks that one observes on a page may be loaded with meanings announcing one's success or doom; a patch of colors that one perceives may be rich in historic and aesthetic significance; the behavior that one observes may have to be characterized with such abstractions as intelligence, nobility, or ambition. Mr. Jordan's claim that reality is individual through and through need not lead one to the untenable conclusion that the individual thing is something real apart from its meaning and abstract determination.

Finally, Mr. Jordan's sharp separation of facts from concepts, of the real from the ideal, invites one to accept given facts too easily as the "real" facts. To attain the "real" fact one has progressively to eliminate, through a whole series of physical as well as conceptual operations, the inexhaustible sources of probable error. The "real fact is the one whose probable error is zero, a contemplated ideal. Paradoxically, one may define the "real" fact as an "ideal" in the progress toward which one would have to move from a "real" fact to one "more real." In the pursuit of knowledge the facts of perception and their conceptual meanings have each their indispensable function. As Kant had observed: "Thoughts without contents are empty, perceptions without concepts are blind."

Y. H. KRIKORIAN

FROM JAMES' GENERATION

PARADE'S END, by Ford Madox Ford, Edited Robie Macauley (Knopf; $5).

THE FOUR NOVELS which make up *Parade's End* were published during the twenties in single volumes: *Some Do Not . . ., No More Parades, A Man Could Stand Up*—and *The Last Post.* Covering the war and postwar years, they floated successfully on the high tide of war novels, but when the tide went out they were stranded. Now Alfred Knopf has launched them anew in a really handsome single volume. That vast bulk slowly circulates once more in literary waters.

Ford Madox Ford (1873-1939) was an English Man of Letters on the grand scale. His taste for literature was passionate and discriminating; he was perhaps the best editor of his time, a rallying point and a beneficent uncle to young writers. He tried his hand at almost every literary form. As a novelist, he was a practised, sometimes brilliant craftsman. For these reasons one has every friendly feeling for *Parade's End,* Ford's most ambitious novel, but I doubt that I could bring myself to read it through again.

It is not really a "war" novel at all. Its intention is to portray a transitional period in the structure of social and moral values, and the 1914-18 war, presented for the most part indirectly, is the phantasmagoric milieu in which old social forms dissolve, old allegiances are betrayed and values scrapped, and the transition (or breakdown, for Ford's purpose) precipitated. Ford centers this process in the story and character of Christopher Tietjens, and to me this ambiguous hero is the flaw in the book.

Tietjens is often called the "last English Tory" and he repeatedly sees himself as a derelict from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. What this points to is an ideal figure, a compendium of honorable virtues, born out of his time and providing a standard by which to measure the universal corruption of the present.

One might object first of (all and without incurring the charge of Anglophobia) that the certificates of his moral excellence are too specifically rooted in place and class. In a flight of fancy unburdened by ironic implications, even "Christ was a sort of Englishman," and Tietjens aspires vaguely to "Anglican" sainthood on the model of George Herbert. Of the New Jerusalem inhabited by these Tory saints:

> This, Tietjens thought, is England. A man and a maid walk through Kentish grass fields. . . . The man honorable, clean, upright; the maid virtuous, clean, vigorous; he of good birth; she of birth quite as good; each filled with a too good breakfast that each could yet capably digest.

And in Ford's humorless infatuation, their aristocratic prerogatives (a "too good breakfast") are as immune to criticism as to physical discomfort.

Next, as a sure test of a good man in a corrupt society, and the measure of society's corruption, is his martyrdom. Tietjens is the chained beast, clumsy but grand, beset by yelping curs. That he is "the most brilliant man in England of that day" we accept on hearsay; his career, nevertheless (and through no fault of his own), is ruined. His magnificent wife first betrays him, then plots diabolically to drive him mad. His friends, for the most part, desert him. His family, on little or no evidence, readily believes the worst of him. In the army, his fellow officers and superiors seek to break him. And in large measure this unabating persecution depends on a perverse complex of petty misunderstandings which Tietjens does nothing to resolve or defend himself against.

It may be argued, of course, that his predicament is a symbol, that Tietjens is the Hero whose doom illustrates the prevalence of evil—who suffers (as he himself suggests) "from the evil eye that is upon me." But a more penetrating explanation (provided again by Tietjens): "You see in such a world

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as this, an idealist—or perhaps it's only a sentimentalist — must be stoned to death." The explanation is couched in the modest parenthesis. Tietjens identifies his ideals with certain vaguely imagined epochs of the past, with certain historical persons; his moral indignation with the present comes suspiciously close to mere nostalgia. For example, he passionately respects his family's position as landed proprietors, but he refuses his responsibility as heir to that tradition (which is part of everything he laments) because "He wanted to be out of the world. . . . He wanted to be out of a disgustingly inefficient and venial world." This should be enough to suggest that his invoked sufferings are less a martyrdom in witness to an ideal than suicide as a sentimental gesture to a memory.

Such a figure is, of course, in his own way a contemporary hero, but only in a critical, ironic perspective, and not as a standard of values. That an intelligence so capable as Ford's of social and political insight should be so without detachment and irony (in this book at least) suggests that the hero of Ford's book was first of all Ford's hero. Suffering with Tietjens, he is rarely even angry; he is simply heartsick. The reader, too, is pained at first; then he grows impatient, and is finally indifferent.

JOHN FARRELLY

JUDAISM AND SOCIETY

CHOOSE LIFE: THE BIBLICAL CALL TO REVOLT, by Eric Gutkind (Henry Schuman; $4).

THE MAIN THESIS of this book is that Israel as a "founded" people in contradistinction to the "biological," "racial" or "tribal" nation has all the potentialities for serving as the spiritual focus or center of genuine world community. In the words of the Jewish philosopher Jehuda Halevi, "Israel is the heart of mankind." With the historical fulfillment of the founded people, Gutkind declares, "there will emerge the universalism of all that is human. Israel's goals are radicalized human goals. Judaism is maximalized humanism."

The founded people is not a natural grouping such as a race or nation but purely a human creation, and as such contains the maximum possibilities for human growth and evolution. As a constituted rather than natural unity, it rests in freedom, and so can be ethical. Nature, according to Gutkind, knows no ethics and the realm of freedom in the world is not nature but man. Israel's origin lies in a human decision, in a free, spontaneous act of the human will. When the Divine call came to Abraham: "Walk out from the city where ye live, from thy country, from thy family. Leave all this behind thee. And follow the way I shall lead ye." *(Genesis 12:1);* Abraham heard and answered—this was the birth moment of the founded people. With Abraham's resolve "to take up the fearsome way through history leading to Man's perfection," the door was bolted on pre-history, on the magic, the fears and superstitions in which the great empires such as Egypt, Assyria or Persia lay bound as in nature's womb.

It was a declaration of man's emancipation from nature, from the wheel of causality, from that primitivistic state of mind which confuses nature's realm with man's and sees the diabolical powers of nature man's eternal weakness. It was the awe inspiring moment when history began—when blind fate and necessity yielded to human initiative and freedom and man took his destiny in his own hands. Action is meaningful only when it is free action, and history within nature or under the sway of nature is a contradiction in terms.

But if the founded people is not a natural unity, it is also not a supernatural one. Israel is not a *corpus mysticum* in a metaphysical or other-worldly sense. Israel is an ethical unity in the here and now which spells the utmost reality: the union or what Gutkind calls "The Absolute Collective" of Man, the World and God in which the Three stand distinct and separate from each other and yet related. God alone is a lifeless abstraction; Man alone is the chimerical, the lonely and fearful man; the World alone is an absolute demonic world defying man's comprehension. It is only as the Three are ethically co-related to form the unity of "The Absolute Collective" that God emerges in all his concreteness; the Cosmos is relativized and humanized; and Man takes on his true human proportions.

In other theological systems one of the Three is either dropped or fused with the other or swallowed up by the other: and you have one or another form of error or unreality. Thus, for example, Man is fused with God and you have mysticism; or God is fused with Nature and you have pantheism; or the World is drowned in Man (the World as a mere human perception) and you have idealism. Only the Judaic world-view maintains the most rigorous distinction between them. Truth, reality, is Man— World— God *together,* each kept apart but related. Togetherness is not fusion. Fusion, in the Judaic view, is a product of pagan or primitive thinking and spells identity; and identity is lifeless. Togetherness is rooted in relationship, which recognizes otherness, difference, multiformity; it spells life and freedom.

Thus freedom is of the essence of Judaic thought, and the notion that man is under a curse and is not free to act is a perversion of the inmost meaning and spirit of the Biblical story from which it stems: the result of a mis-reading of the original Hebrew text. There were two trees in the Garden of Eden, the Tree of Life in the center and the Tree of Knowledge, and they formed an indissoluble unity. The right name of the Tree of Knowledge was the *Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.* The command not to eat of the fruit of this tree was not a prohibition of knowledge; it was a prohibition of the *separation* of knowledge and life. For knowledge by itself can still be destructive.

Knowledge of good and evil must be related to life, to ethical conduct and decision. "A profound kabbalistic teaching asserts: Man made a split between the two trees, and by that act ruined the Garden of Paradise." He destroyed the primal unity of action and thought .He lost his place in the original unity of Man— World— God. He opened up that split within himself which has been

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the source of his suffering down the ages. But— and this is an example of the radical exegesis evident throughout the book— it was not man who was cursed, but the soil, man's environment. *"cursed is the ground." (Genesis 3:17-19* and *Genesis 4:11)*. Man never lost his freedom either to recover his original unity or to transform his broken world into a paradise again.

And it is precisely this task— to heal the split, to restore the original *haadamah* (the human environment)— that was the burden of the Divine call that came to Abraham. Nothing and no one can redeem man and his world except man himself. This is the message of the founded people, the key to its ethic, the motor principle of its social dynamic. The Jew is a rebel by origin and destiny, who will not accept the existing order of things, and this makes him hateful to "the dwellers in the ruins" who wish to preserve the *status quo* at all costs. It makes him an outcast, an alien, an exile. For the Jew to try to assimilate, normalize, adjust—*accept the world as it is*—is to lose his *raison d'être:* it is to betray Judaism: it is to betray mankind. The Jewish problem is not a "scapegoat" or "minority" problem. It is Humanity's problem. The exile Jew is Humanity in exile, and "The Jewish promise that the exile of the theophoric people will end is the promise that also the exile of Man will end."

A statement of essential Judaism is never without interest and importance. Gutkind's is particularly important because, far from shying away from the great challenges of our time, it meets them squarely and unequivocally; more, it shows them to be so many integral phases of the larger and total challenge which is Judaism itself. Thus, the psychological challenge which has shaken religion to its very depths and revealed how much of it is essentially wish-fulfillment—a rationalization and compensation for the frustrations and miseries of actual life—only serves to confirm intrinsic Judaic realism. Judaism is not just another religion, looking toward a euphoric beyond. (Gutkind even maintains that in an important sense it is not a religion at all.) The Jewish promise of the abundant life is not a promise realized in a hereafter, but now, in this world. Eternity is Now. (Significantly, there is no word for immortality in ancient Hebrew.) Likewise, the scientific challenge, as Gutkind shows, has not only left Judaism untouched, it has in fact strengthened it. And in the same way, the social challenge is seen to receive its deepest and most sympathetic response in Judaism which has never regarded social justice, a society without privilege and class distinction, etc., as mere articles of faith but as urgent matters for action.

The proceeding world crisis, according to Gutkind, is one of those great turning points in history when man is confronted anew with the basic question: to go forward, to build up this world in "utter earnestness and truthfulness" or— fall back and be engulfed in a new chaos. For chaos (the *tohu wa bohu*), in the Jewish vision, is catastrophic—not the original state of the world but a later and destructive development: a recurring phenomenon "on earth." "Our time," writes Gutkind, "is the last hour of an aeon"—perhaps the last hour of all time, for never before was the threat so great or man more exposed. Hence the great Biblical imperative which serves as the title of the book: "I have set before you life and death . . . choose life."

MICHAEL FRAENKEL

THEORIES OF FICTION

CRITIQUES AND ESSAYS ON MODERN FICTION THEORIES OF FICTION, selected John W. Aldridge (Ronald Press; $6).

THIS ANTHOLOGY of thirty-five critical essays, "Representing the Achievement of Modern American and British Critics," is elaborately and thoughtfully arranged by Mr. Aldridge. The essays are grouped under headings: *The Technique of Fiction; Studies in the Method of Meaning; The Mode of the Novelist* (Experience and the Personal Element, Naturalism, Myth, Vision and Sensibility, Fantasy, The Novel in Our Time). There is a fifty-seven page bibliography compiled by Robert Wooster Stallman, and brief biographical notes on the twenty-nine critics "representing the achievement"; among the better known of the critics are John Peale Bishop, R. P. Blackmur, Malcolm Cowley, David Daiches, T. S. Eliot, Francis Fergusson, F. R. Leavis, Harry Levin, H. L. Mencken, Arthur Mizener, Philip Rahv, D. S. Savage, Mark Schorer, Delmore Schwartz, Allen Tate, Lionel Trilling, Austin Warren, Robert Penn Warren and Edmund Wilson. The *Kenyon* and the *Sewanee* reviews are the principal sources.

The anthology is intended for any student who will read the book in such a way as to be

exposed, first, to studies of technique as principle, next, to critiques in which principle is illustrated in the method of single works, and, finally, to analyses of the general modes of individual authors,

and in deference to this adaptation for classroom use, Mr. Aldridge has

chosen to represent the achievement of the major British and American critics only, in so far as it is revealed in their investigations into the work of those modern British and American authors most likely to be taught in the university today.

These authors are Sherwood Anderson, Joseph Conrad, Stephen Crane, John Dos Passos, Theodore Dreiser, James T. Farrell, William Faulkner, F. Scott Fitzgerald, E. M. Forster, Ernest Hemingway, Aldous Huxley, Henry James, James Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, Katherine Anne Porter, Robert Penn Warren, Eudora Welty, Thomas Wolfe, and Virginia Woolf.

As might be expected of an adaptation for the university classroom, the book is a little constricted; and most readers of such critical essays as the ones chosen will not like to think of themselves as being thereby "exposed" to critical literature. But the editor has managed his double purpose with a great deal of tact: his introductory comments are free from condescension; and his arrangement of the essays, besides pointing to certain principles which may properly be called an achievement of modern criticism, also contrives to keep alive that *sine qua non* of criticism— its conversational genius—which may

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in the end be more important than the formulated judgments, since it presides over and makes possible at least one area of culture within which men can speak seriously and freely and, if they wish, with painstaking subtlety, and without fear of being too grossly misunderstood. Accordingly, the best of these critics show a style which is in itself a kind of act of faith in the reality of their tradition—that is to say, the most authoritative of these critics reveal in their language an ironical, bewildering, challenging, *faithful assumption* of the readers' civilized intelligence. This genius in T. S. Eliot, who is obviously the master critic, lends to his criticism an almost overwhelming persuasive force; but the same genius appears in John Crowe Ransom (not represented in this anthology), in Allen Tate, and in R. P. Blackmur; and again, though in a different manner, in the fine professional integrity of such critics as Edmund Wilson and Malcolm Cowley; and still again, though this time with a world of difference, in the slap-dash accuracy of Eliot's old colleague, Ezra Pound, who *à propos* the novel wants to know if there has been any *real* improvement in that genre since the *Odyssey*.

Mr. Aldridge's anthology should, then, help substantially in the introduction of students to this world of subtle freedoms and delicate responsibilities; and, as for the student who "exposes" himself to this volume from beginning to end, I think he will be likely to emerge with a heightened respect for the artistic strategy of the point of view (Percy Lubbock), a greater sensitivity to the implications of an author's habitual metaphors (Mark Schorer), a healthy, moderate distrust of naturalism and the cult of experience (Cowley and Rahv), a feeling that techniques of fiction are not irrelevant to the deepest questions of epistemology (Joseph Frank), a strong conviction that good novels are at once artistic, courageous, and morally serious (especially those of Henry James and Joseph Conrad) but that novels can no longer be written as they used to be written, and a suspicion that for the novel in any known form there is not much ahead. Mr. Trilling is given the last word, at the end of the volume, as follows: "The understanding of this (that Art helps Fortune) cannot of itself assure the existence of the novel but it helps toward establishing the state of soul in which the novel becomes possible." And Mr. Schorer concludes his courageous introduction to the volume in a tone suddenly reminiscent of Paul Valéry: "But perhaps this really is sunset," says Mr. Schorer, "and then, of course, criticism must pull down the flag."

RUDD FLEMING

THE BAROQUE INFLUENCE

by Robert Evett

IF PERFORMERS and audiences in the Twentieth Century have found an increasing satisfaction in Baroque music and have demanded it in purer forms, it is not surprising that composers, too, have been influenced by the styles and attitudes of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Since about 1920, there has been a noticeable tendency to turn to the past for a means of expression, at least among some composers; this regressive movement has been allowed to exist for some time under the misleading label of Neo-Classicism. Actually, Classicism does not figure as the dominant phase of the movement which, depending on the composers involved, might as accurately be called Neo-Baroque, Neo-Rococo, Neo-Renaissance, or Neo-Gregorian. The fact is that most versatile conservative composers have their roots in a past which begins with the Gregorian Chant and ends with their own latest accomplishments. The important difference between the conservative modern and the radical modern is that the conservative incorporates the past into his work while the radical either ignores his predecessors or assumes that they make up a great unit from which he is somehow independent. The conservative and the radical understand each other because they are both constantly revaluating the past and present in relation to themselves. They do not understand that third man, the reactionary who preserves the immediate (and in this case, Romantic) past *in toto*, presumably because he holds no philosophical position from which he could evaluate the past and present.

Those moderns who, like Bartok, use conservative means but depend heavily on their own inventiveness for harmonic materials tend to be eclectic in their formal sources. In a single work—the Music for *Celesta, Percussion and Strings*—Bartok draws form from the Baroque and the Classic, melody and rhythm from the Central European Folk and a variety of other sources. His ability to fuse this material into a single, unified work is a tribute to a talent that is rarely found in an eclectic writer. Stravinsky draws elegance from the Baroque and the Classic, levity from Jazz, but for austerity he generally refers to earlier periods. I know of only one movement—the fugue from the *Symphony of Psalms*—in which he seems to be working for a Baroque seriousness and sublimity within a technical context of Baroque means. As eclectics, Stravinsky and Bartok (who are sometimes confused with radical moderns by the laity) have never hesitated to introduce the conventions of Romanticism even into their most serious works.

The formal methods of the Baroque have become part of the equipment of those composers who desire more freedom and at the same time more precision than Classicism admits. To such a composer as Roy Harris, the Passacaglia or the Fugue draws part of its strength from the fantasy with which it is ordinarily coupled. The discipline of Baroque order can give freedom to a curiously subjective eloquence which is saved from hyper-emotionalism by the architectural nature of the form it takes.

Composers like Harris are by no means enslaved by the Baroque, since they have stripped it of its stylistic ornaments and disposed of its levity. Usually, they have deliberately avoided its elegance and *galanterie*, too; in many cases, they have replaced these desirable qualities with a richness foreign to the late Baroque, but common to Monteverdi and his contemporaries, and also with the rhythmic and tonal flexibility that identify the Gregorian Chant. With Harris and

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William Schuman one almost feels that Baroque technics have been imposed on materials drawn from both earlier and later sources.

In order to deal with the modern orchestra effectively, these composers have evolved styles which preclude Baroque fussiness—since, on a large sounding medium, the ornaments of the Baroque cannot be heard unless they are exaggerated to the point of becoming silly—and in their major work, Harris and Schuman produce a writing which is more austere than its Eighteenth Century counterpart. However, in his *Piano Quintet*, as well as in his later chamber music, Harris proves that elaborate ornamentation can be adapted to his otherwise severe style.

Composers who love everything about the Baroque are, naturally, inclined to borrow from it more liberally. Ravel, whose allegiances are elsewhere, demonstrates his awareness of its litheness and elegance both in *Le Tombeau de Couperin* and in his fabulous *Menuet a l'Antique*. Milhaud and Honegger have obviously profited from their familiarity with this period, and Malipiero's debt to it is apparent in all of his major works. It has been suggested that an excessive identification with the early Baroque has prevented Malipiero from achieving the fame that his works should have merited a long time ago.

For most of us, informed and sophisticated conservatism is personified by Paul Hindemith, who occupies a position in music similar to that held by Mr. Eliot in modern letters. Like Eliot, Hindemith never allows passion to break the perfection of his surfaces; like Eliot, his forms and materials are drawn from the past, but modified by rhythmic irregularities and other inflectional devices that are new to pre-Romantic order. This late in his career, Hindemith has begun writing criticism of the only valid sort, the sustained essay that quickly brings Eliot's best criticism to mind. Unfortunately, Hindemith is one of the few articulate voices in this age when the criticism of music has generally been debased to casual, irresponsible reviewing. If his work could be augmented by musical equivalents of Auden, Ransom and the Sitwells, we would perhaps find the aberrant forms of contemporary music disappearing into the periphera, from which they could prove stimulating rather than overwhelming.

The style which Hindemith found suitable for his kind of thinking was perfected about twenty years ago, and it is a modification of the high Baroque. Like that of Bach, it varies from a simple chorale phase, in which it is complicated harmonically, to a highly ornate one in which the harmony is relatively simple. A more or less constant involvement with counterpoint is characteristic of both composers. Most important of all is versatility of mood. Many other composers have caught the seriousness of the Baroque, and some, like Milhaud and Roussel, have caught its elegance and levity, but so far as I know, Hindemith is the only composer who has been able to catch the whole essence of the Baroque and to translate it into modern terms. His habit of using the melodic material of other composers, particularly (as in *Der Schwanendreher*) those of the remote past, is reminiscent of Bach and also of Eliot who, beginning with *The Wasteland* has used quoted material in the manner of literary allusion and thus made it his own.

Though he is never very fashionable, Hindemith is strong, and his influence can be dangerous; his style is very easy to imitate, and weak but earnest young men have brought him great disrepute by producing recognizable imitations of his work. Stronger people of like minds will always return to the original sources; Walter Piston, Robert Palmer and Frank Martin have all shown that a Baroque influence need not produce a Hindemithian sound. At present, our intellectual climate seems to favour novelty and to discourage such serious work; as long as this continues to be true, such composers as Hindemith, Palmer, and Piston will be producing for Bach's chosen audience of "music lovers and especially . . . connoiseurs of such work."

[This is the last of three articles on Baroque music; *The Romantic Bach* (July 28), *The Baroque Revival* (August 4)—The Editors.]

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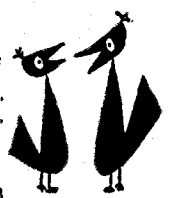

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